

1998

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SELF-PROMOTION: INVESTIGATING GENDER DIFFERENCES

A Thesis Presented

by

ANDREA R. BERGER

**Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of**

MASTER OF SCIENCE

May 1998

Psychology

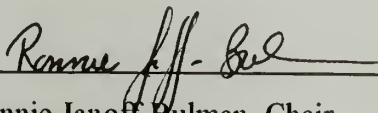
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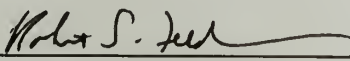
by

ANDREA R. BERGER


Approved as to style and content by:




Ronnie Janoff-Bulman, Chair



Robert Feldman, Member



Paula Pietromonaco, Member



Melinda Novak, Department Head
Psychology Department

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Imagine that an applicant is in the middle of an important job interview. The applicant is sure that she is well qualified. The interviewer asks, “Why should we hire you instead of a different candidate?” How can she demonstrate that she is the best candidate without coming across as a boastful person? To some extent, her answer will be based on what qualities she thinks she possesses that would be good for the job. However, she must take into consideration what she thinks the interviewer wants to hear.

Because the interviewer is most likely a stranger to the applicant, how does she know what the interviewer wants to hear? Several situational cues can guide her, including norms for job interviews and norms for interacting with a stranger. The applicant could rely on the norms for her gender in deciding her presentation. She could act in a way that conforms to the norm for the interviewer’s gender. Or, finally, there could be an interaction of these effects in which both the interviewer’s and the applicant’s gender affect the applicant’s presentation. In addition, these factors could interact to influence how the interviewer perceives the applicant. This investigation sought to explore how gender differentially affects self-presentation and, in particular, self-promotion.

Self-Presentation

Self-presentation, also known as impression management, encompasses any strategy that people use to present information about themselves (Kacmar & Carlson, 1994). These strategies are used by individuals to portray a certain image, usually positive, by controlling the information related to the self. The goal of these techniques

is for the information to be interpreted in the manner in which they were intended (Kacmar & Carlson, 1994). When an individual engages in a self-presentation that is successful, it can facilitate social interactions. However, there is a risk that the self-presentation will not simply fail to create the desired impression, but may lead to a negative impression such as false friendliness, ingratiation, or boasting (Bromley, 1993).

When people choose to engage in self-presentation depends a great deal on the situation. The following five characteristics describe aspects of situations in which self-presentation is more likely: 1) people who are aware that they are being noticed (i.e., when self-consciousness is stimulated) are more likely to use strategies to manipulate what is being noticed; 2) an interaction is not well-scripted, such as two strangers interacting, then people may draw on self-presentation norms; 3) self-presentation is likely to occur when individuals believe that the strategies will be successful and the impression made on the other is important (Ferris, Russ & Fandt, 1989); 4) people frequently use these strategies when they have very little to lose if the tactic does not work, but much to gain if it is successful; and 5) when the other person in the interaction is higher in power, the impression made can be important for the future of the actor. This power differential may lead individuals to engage in self-presentation with more powerful individuals (Giacalone & Rosenfeld, 1989). These five characteristics can all be present during a job interview, making the situation prime for self-presentation.

A job interview is a situation that would demand strategic and assertive self-presentations. As defined by Tedeschi and Melburg (1984), a strategic self-presentation uses deliberate and pre-planned strategies to protect or enhance a person's reputation.

Assertive self-presentation occurs when individuals actively try to advertise their assets and achievements. Job interviews may also be characterized by self-focused self-presentational strategies. When individuals engage in self-focused strategies, they may explain how positive events in their past are of their own doing (entitlement), frame past events so that it reflects on them more positively (enhancement), and describe the positive characteristics that they possess (self-promotion; Kacmar & Carlson, 1994).

Self-Promotion

Overall, self-promoters are liked less than people using other strategies. In using self-promotion, actors risk being labeled “boastful” by the interviewer (Schlenker & Leary, 1982). Some studies have found that self-promoters are not even viewed as more competent (Godfrey, Jones, & Lord, 1986; Holtgraves & Srull, 1989). Still, it is better to put yourself in a good light than a bad light (Robinson, Johnson, & Shields, 1995; Tetlock, 1980). Schlenker and Leary (1982) found that people who predicted an above average performance for themselves were liked better than people who predicted a below average performance. In addition, Holtgraves and Srull (1989) found that self-enhancing actors were rated as more competent by their partners. However, their partners were more interested in having future interactions with self-critical and neutral partners than self-enhancing partners. In other words, it seems that the self-enhancing partners were liked less.

While previous research seems to suggest that a moderate presentation is perceived positively, Holtgraves and Srull (1989) found that there are some contexts in which self-promotion is acceptable. Those contexts include occasions when someone else

makes a self-promotional statement first or when a person has been specifically asked a question that requires a self-promoting response. Unintentionally, Powers and Zuroff (1988) may have conceptually replicated the previous findings and set up a context that encouraged self-promotion. Female participants made attributions about self-critical, self-enhancing or neutral female confederates. Participants who were paired with self-enhancers rated themselves higher on the tasks. Here, being with a partner who promoted herself set up a context for self-promotion. A job interview may create a context in which self-promotion is acceptable because the applicants are both explicitly and implicitly asked to present their best qualities.

Gender and Self-Promotion

Self-promotion is a tactic available to both genders; however, selection and use of self-promotion may differ between males and females (Kacmar & Carlson, 1994). Men consistently give higher ratings of their abilities than do women (Lenney, 1977; Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974). A great deal of work has been conducted to determine why these differences occur. Deaux (1976) hypothesized that men expect to succeed and, consequently, successes are interpreted as a reflection of internal forces and failures a result of external forces. Women, however, have lower expectations. Failure is consistent with these expectations and is attributed to internal forces while success is attributed to external forces. Yet, the evidence collected since Deaux has not supported her theory. Gould and Slone (1982) found that if claims were made in private, there was no difference in attributions for success between men and women. The difference between men and women appeared when the claims were made in public. This finding led them to believe

that the difference between men and women is due to self-presentational concerns. In public, women act in accordance with a norm of modesty. The actual or perceived presence of others can activate the modesty norm for women (Heatherington et al., 1993).

Heatherington and her colleagues (1993) have gone one step further to determine whether there is something in addition to gender norms driving these differences. Subjects were asked to predict their GPA by a same-sex questioner. The questioner was either high in vulnerability (confederates reported that they had a low GPA) or low in vulnerability (confederates reported that they had a high GPA). As before, men's and women's predictions did not differ when the estimations were made in private (estimate was sealed in an envelop). Surprisingly, in the low vulnerability condition, men and women also did not differ in their public estimations. However, women gave lower estimates compared with men when the other was high in vulnerability and the estimate was made in public. The researchers explained this difference in terms of women's heightened concern for relationships with others. In other words, women were more concerned with hurting the other person's feelings. Reporting high achievement would place them psychologically above the other.

Another explanation for the gender difference in self-presentation is related to liking. If self-promotion is considered unfeminine, how will a woman who is self-promoting be perceived? When people act in unexpected (or non-stereotypic) ways, they are evaluated more negatively. If a woman is self-promoting, she may be evaluated more negatively by men and women than if she had conformed to the stereotype (Janoff-Bulman & Wade, 1996). Perhaps these negative evaluations are worth the risk in an interview if

women are deemed more competent for their effort. However, the evidence suggests that in order for women to be effective and influential, it is important for them to be liked (for examples, see Ridgeway & Diekema, 1992; Carli, 1990; Carli, LaFleur & Lober, 1995). Women may reject self-promotion in order to maintain positive relationships with others and maintain the potential to be influential.

Unfortunately, it is still not clear when and whether these gender differences in self-promotion occur. Most studies have used same-sex pairs (e.g., Berg et al., 1981; Heatherington et al., 1993; Powers & Zuroff, 1988) or have utilized unknown, genderless others (Gould & Slone, 1982). One study by Heilman and Kram (1978), which looked at self-derogation rather than self-promotion, found that women derogated themselves more with males than with females. When women were paired with women they took more responsibility for their success. Unlike most laboratory studies, which involve interactions with strangers, this study was run at an organization where the participants were co-workers. The fact that the interactions were not with strangers may have affected the outcome of the study. Eagly and Karau (1991), for example, found that gender is a salient feature in an interaction if the other person is a stranger.

Gender and Perceptions of Presentations

So far, the studies discussed have not focused on the effect of the gender of the actor on how the actor is perceived. Although boasting is not positively evaluated, regardless of gender (of the actor or the perceiver), the consequences can be different for men and women. In most situations, self-promotion is not as successful a tactic for women as it is for men (Giacalone & Riordan, 1990; Wiley & Crittenden, 1992).

Immodesty is not considered to be feminine (Heatherington et al., 1993), and there are risks for women who do not act in accordance with the stereotype. Self-promoting women are liked less by both men and women when compared with men who self-promote or women who are modest (LaFrance, 1992; Rudman, 1995). Some researchers have found that when comparing the evaluations made about modest and boastful men and women, the judgments about women are more extreme (better for modest and worse for boastful presentations) than the judgments about men (Heatherington, Crown, Wagner, & Rigby, 1989; Miller, Cooke, Tsang, & Morgan, 1992). Miller and colleagues (1992) found that boastful male actors were perceived as more competent by male judges. This was not true, however, for female actors (regardless of the gender of the perceiver).

Miller, Cooke, Tsang, and Morgan (1992) add a useful distinction to the examination of self-promotion. Rather than considering only the level of reporting as boasting, they differentiate between the claim and how the claim is reported. In other words, it is possible for the same performance level to be reported in a way that is merely positive and not boastful. They asked people to write about a prescribed event in a positive way and in a boastful way. A content analysis of the responses revealed that boastful presentations used more superlatives in the descriptions, indicated that the event took little effort, made dispositional attributions for the success, and exaggerated the success. These characteristics are similar to the self-focused techniques for self-presentation (entitlements, enhancement and self-promotion) discussed above. On the other hand, positive self-promotion descriptions emphasized the effort that went into

achieving the success, shared success with others and mentioned how important the success was to them.

With this theoretical distinction between types of self-promotion, Miller and her colleagues (1992) examined the impact of the gender of the actor making claims as well as the gender of the perceiver on attributions. Subjects made attributions about the actor after reading a brief scenario. The subjects' ratings of the targets fell into two factors: social involvement and competence. On the social involvement variables, there were no gender differences. Both men and women rated all actors less positively when they boasted compared to positive self-disclosure. However, on the competence variables, the gender of both the actor and the perceiver were significant. Female perceivers rated males and females the same as each other and regardless of presentation style. Male perceivers, on the other hand, rated males who boasted significantly more competent than males who positively self-promoted. Male perceivers attributed moderate competence to women regardless of the manner of presentation (i.e., the mean for these two conditions were in between the high mean for the boastful male and the low mean for the positive self-presenting male).

This finding has interesting implications for a job interview setting. It seems that boasting will get an applicant nowhere if social involvement evaluations are important deciding factors; there does not seem to be a particular penalty (or reward) for women who boast. However, when competence is the key evaluation being made (as is arguably true in an interview), boasting appears to help men when the interviewer is male.

Some predictions can be made for self-promotion in cross- and same-sex pairs in a job interview based on the previous research. A job interview is a situation in which self-focused self-presentation is likely to occur. Applicants are making statements in public, which should activate modesty norms for women. However, an interviewer is not in a position of vulnerability relative to the applicant, which would suggest no gender differences. Hence, women may self-promote the same as men when paired with a same gender interviewer. If a woman is paired with a male interviewer, it is likely that the double reminder of stranger and male would lead to the strong activation of the modesty norm for the female applicant. Male applicants, who do not have a norm for modesty, would be expected to be the same whether interacting with a male or female stranger. To summarize, self-promotion should not differ by gender except when a female applicant is with a male interviewer. In this specific case, the female applicant would be expected to engage in less self-promotion.

Pilot Study

In an earlier study, we set out to find if these relationships would be borne out. The study was a 2 (gender of applicant) x 2 (gender of interviewer) design. Using a methodology developed by Tice, Butler, Muraven, & Stillwell (1995), applicants were asked to rate themselves on various characteristics in the context of a job interview. We did not find the expected trends. Overall, women with male interviewers did not self-promote the least. Surprisingly, for some questions, men's self-promotion was, in fact, affected by the gender of the interviewer.

Post-hoc analyses of the interview questions revealed that the applicants' responses to the interview questions fell into two factors, one relating to competence and the other relating to interpersonal traits. Although we did not find the expected trends, we did find a significant trend on the competence variables. Both men and women rated themselves higher on competence variables when talking to a male interviewer than a female interviewer. There are two possible explanations for this finding. First, in an interview, where self-presentation is important, people may act in the manner they believe is appropriate for the interviewer's gender. If this is the case, then the information must be based on an available norm for what kind of behavior is expected by a man versus a woman. The norm may hold that self-promotion is expected by men (i.e., they like or do not mind it), but not expected by women, who do not like it.

Second, applicants may try to determine what specific characteristics would be important to the interviewer. For instance, people may self-promote on characteristics that they feel are important to the interviewer based on stereotypes for the interviewer's gender. Perhaps the applicants rated themselves higher on competence items when interacting with men, because men are assumed to care more about competence. If this were the case, then the applicants might have been expected to rate themselves higher on interpersonal variables when interacting with female interviewers. In fact, this trend for the interpersonal variables was present (although slight and not significant across items).

Past research has virtually ignored the type of traits that are used in self-promotion. The majority of the past studies have had participants reporting on competence variables such as GPA (Heatherington et al., 1993) or performance on a task

(e.g., Gould & Slone, 1982; Berg, Stephan, & Dodson, 1981). It is important to begin to consider that norms for self-promotion related to intellectual competence may be different from other, more social traits.

Current Study

The current study was designed to examine the influence of gender on self-promotion and to gain a better understanding of this influence in order to guide future research. This investigation was exploratory in nature. The results from the pilot study did not conform to predictions based on prior research. This study was designed to further investigate the unexpected findings of the pilot work. For example, it is possible that regardless of the category of the trait, everyone self-promotes more with men than with women. The pilot study also suggested that all the applicants, regardless of gender, emphasized interpersonal traits with women and competence traits with men. It is also possible, however, that this time we would find the originally predicted relationship: male applicants self-promote the same amount with male and female interviewers, but women self-promote less with male interviewers.

Differentiating between boasting and positive self-promotion added another level of evaluation to the current study. In the past, most research has had subjects rate themselves on some sort of numbered scale (ex. Gould and Slone, 1992; Heatherington et al., 1993). Miller (et al., 1992) discusses the importance of the manner in which a claim is made for it to be labeled as boasting by a perceiver. In the pilot study, subjects simply gave the interviewer a number rating. Applicants who gave themselves a high rating may merely have been saying something positive about themselves. The current study added

another level of analysis by examining how applicants justify or explain their ratings. These explanations were examined for boastful statements. This measure was expected to show that women boasted less than men and even less with male interviewers and males boasted the same amount with either interviewer.

One problem with examining self-presentation and boasting is determining the person's actual level of achievement. People may rate themselves as only a 6 on intelligence, yet this may be significantly higher than what they really feel about themselves. If women and men start out with different private beliefs about their capabilities, their ratings may reflect this difference rather than result from self-presentational differences. Participants completed a preliminary measure to obtain self-ratings in a private environment where there should be less self-presentation. This measure was used in two ways. First, it was used to determine if women and men started at the same place in their own interpretations of their abilities. Second, the preliminary measure was used to determine if individuals were boasting or being modest relative to their own private assessment.

A secondary issue under investigation was how the applicants are perceived by the interviewers. While this study did not manipulate boasting or positive self-presentation during the interview, the relationship between amount of boasting and how it is perceived as a function of applicant's and interviewer's gender was examined. The evaluations made by the interviewers were expected to mirror those found by Miller and her colleagues (1992). They found that applicants who boast were rated lower than other applicants on interpersonal attributes by the interviewers. On competence ratings, male interviewers

rated male boastful applicants most positively. Female interviewers rated male and female boastful applicants the same.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

Subjects

Subjects were recruited from the pool of undergraduates who completed the pre-screen measures. A total of 162 subjects (78 males and 84 females) participated. They were given course credit for their participation.

Procedure

Prior to participation in the experiment, subjects completed a self-evaluation scale as part of a larger battery of questionnaires. This battery, the pre-screen, was not associated with the study and was completed at least 2 weeks in advance. The questionnaire contained twelve 10-point items. In the instructions, it was explained that the survey was trying to see how capable university students think they are in various areas such as intelligence and interacting with others (see Appendix A). Nine hundred and ninety students completed the survey.

From this pre-screen pool, subjects were recruited over the phone. The potential interviewers were told that the study was investigating how helpful it would be to college students to be interviewers in order to learn to be better applicants. They were told they would be interviewing a peer. Applicants were told that the study was investigating how helpful it would be to college students to undergo a practice job interview. They were told that they would be able to get a video of their performance to evaluate if they were

interested.¹ Participants were instructed to arrive at slightly different times and at different locations so that they would not meet outside of the interview.

Pre-screen participants who agreed to participate were randomly paired with either a same- or opposite-sex partner (with the condition that there be approximately the same number of participants in each cell). At the beginning of the experimental session, participants were seated in separate, but adjoining rooms. The interviewers received instructions about the interview that they were about to conduct. They were told that the applicant would be applying for a job in the admissions office, that they should assume that the applicant had the minimum necessary skills, and that they should follow the interview script exactly. They were also told to make sure to pay attention and take notes during the interview so that they would be able to make judgments about the applicant at the end of the interview (see Appendix B).

These instructions were followed by the following job description:

Wanted summer '97: success-oriented U Mass student to work on 10-week internship through the admissions office; collect information for student life brochure; must have knowledge of student life at U Mass.

This job description was used in the pilot study and was found to be a position that everyone could speak about in an interview. During the debriefing questionnaire, the applicants were asked how interested they were in the job and the average rating was 5.1 on a 10-point scale. This job description was followed by demographic questions and several items to ensure that the interviewer understood the instructions.

¹ Although all applicants were given information about how to request copies of their videotaped interview, no requests for this information were received.

Next the interviewer was given the script and questions for the interview and told to read everything over before the interview. The interview included 10 of the items from the pre-screen. Only 10 items were used during the interview due to time constraints. A preliminary factor analysis was completed on the prescreen data to determine which item to keep. The main criterion was to keep five social and five competence items. The “influence” item was dropped because it was developed as a social item but it loaded on the competence factor (loadings were .20 and .76 respectively). The “work habits” item was dropped because it failed to load strongly on either item (loadings were less than .47 for both factors). The remaining ten items were used in the interview; they were: success, interacting with others, new ideas, helpful, intelligence, personality, supervising ability, public speaking, patience, and reading emotions (see Appendix C). This interview procedure for measuring self-promotion, using self-ratings on 10-point scales, was used by Tice, Butler, Muraven, & Stillwell (1995).

During the interview, the scaled items were preceded by two open-ended items that were not scored. These questions were chosen to be typical interview items to get the applicant feeling as if they were in an interview. This also allowed the applicant a chance to get warmed up before the dependent measures of interest were introduced. Following each scale question, the interviewer asked applicants to justify their self-rating. These responses provided the open-ended data to examine how people self-promote.

The applicants were given instructions about the interview that they were about to go through. They were told that they would be interviewed by a peer who would be evaluating them at the end of the session. They were told that because they were being

evaluated, they should do their best to make a positive impression on the interviewers (see Appendix D). The applicants then read the same job description that was presented to the interviewers. Finally, applicants answered demographic questions and several items to ensure that they understood the instructions.

Once these materials were completed, the applicants were directed into the interview room where the interviewer was already sitting at one side of a table. The applicant was directed to sit at a chair on the opposite side of the table facing the interviewer. There were two video cameras in the room visible to the participants; one was facing the applicant and one was facing the interviewer. In the middle of the table was an audio recorder. The video and audio tapes helped to keep the interview more serious and scripted and allowed for later analysis of the interaction without relying on the interviewers to log the information.

At the completion of the interview, subjects were separated and completed post-interview questionnaires. The interviewers rated applicants on two types of scales. The first set included four 10-point Likert-type items (for example, “How much do you like this applicant?” and “How highly would you recommend this applicant for hire?”, see Appendix E). The second set of questions were semantic differentials. These ten items were taken from Miller et al. (1992) and were presented on 7-point scales (see Appendix E).

The applicants were given similar questions. First the applicants were asked how they thought the interviewer would rate them on the same four Likert-type items. They were then asked to assess their own performance on the same 10 semantic differential

items. Finally, the applicants were given the semantic differential items again, but this time they were asked how they thought the interviewer rated them on these items.

At this point, subjects were separated and given a debriefing questionnaire that led them to suspect that there was more to the investigation than was originally presented (see Appendix G). Although many participants, when asked, were able to generate alternative hypotheses, none of these hypotheses were deemed cause to exclude the pair from analyses. All participants were debriefed separately and thanked for their participation.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

Self-Presentation: Numeric Responses

Scale Construction

In the pilot study, the interview items fell into two factors: competence and social skills. Evidence from both the prescreen and the current interview data supported continuing to categorize the items in this manner. A principle components analysis of the prescreen data was conducted (extracting any factors with eigenvalues greater than one). This analysis revealed two factors (see Table 1). The items that loaded most strongly on the competence factor were hypothesized (with the exception of *supervising* which will be discussed below) to measure competence. Although some of the items loaded on both factors, the five items that loaded most strongly on the social factor were all developed to measure social skills. The five items in the competence factor were: ideas, intelligence, speaking, success and supervising. The reliability for this factor was $\alpha = .80$. The five items for the social factor were: helpful, personality, patient, emotion, and interact. The reliability for this factor was $\alpha = .75$.

A similar pattern of loadings was obtained from the actual interview data (see Table 2). For the principle components analysis, it was specified that two factors should be extracted. This time, two of the items failed to load on either factor: *patience* and *supervising*. Initially, these items had both been designed to load on the social factor. However, *supervising* had loaded on the competence factor in the prescreen data. Despite the fact that this item did not load highly on either factor, a reliability analysis was done on

the same sets of five competence items as the prescreen. The competence factor, with five items, had a reliability of $\alpha=.61$. The “supervising” item was not originally intended to load on this factor, and, therefore, the reliability was checked without this item. The reliability for the four remaining items was $\alpha=.64$. Because it was not clear which factor was the best fit for “supervising”, and because it lowered the reliability of the competence factor when included, this item was dropped from all future analyses and only the four remaining items were used to assess competence.

The social factor with five items had a reliability of $\alpha=.52$. This reliability seemed particularly low. Although the “patience” item loaded on the social factor in the prescreen and was hypothesized to be representative of this factor, it did not load on the social factor for the interview data. The reliability for the remaining four social items was $\alpha=.68$. It seems that the “patience” item exhibited a different pattern of responses than the other social items. For this reason, *patience* was dropped from all future analyses and only the four remaining social items were used to assess social skills.

Self-Presentation During the Interview

Two (gender of applicant) x 2 (gender of interviewer) MANOVAs were run separately for the four competence items and the four social items. A marginally significant gender of applicant by gender of interviewer interaction was found in both analyses (social- $F(4,74)= 2.13, p < .08$, see Table 3; competence- $F(4,74)= 2.15, p < .08$, see Table 4). No other effects were significant. None of the univariate ANOVAs on either the competence or social items revealed significant effects.

Both of these effects were only marginally significant. However, because this investigation was instigated by the results from these analyses from the pilot study, further probing into the interaction effects seemed warranted. When examining the means for each competence item by applicant and interviewer gender (see Table 4), it appeared that male applicants with male interviewers gave the highest presentations. However, a contrast comparing this group against the other three groups was not significant. The only pair-wise comparison that yielded a significant difference was between the male and female applicants who were with male interviewers. The male applicants had higher means than the female applicants when there was a male interviewer ($F(4,33) = 2.95, p < .04$). The means for the social items by applicant and interviewer gender were also examined. For this topic, no clear patterns were evident. Pair-wise comparisons failed to yield any significant differences (see Table 3).

A 2 (gender of applicant) \times 2 (gender of interviewer) \times 2 (topic, within subjects variable) ANOVA on the competence and social scales revealed only a main effect for topic ($F(1,77) = 44.06, p < .001$). Overall, applicants presented themselves more positively on the social topics ($M = 8.3$) than the competence topics ($M = 7.4$). No other effects were significant.

Interview Responses Compared with Prescreen Responses

No gender differences were predicted in the responses on the prescreen. All of the *t*-tests comparing male and female applicants on each item were not significant except for *intelligence*. For this item, there was a marginal gender difference: women's average response was 7.4 and men's average response was 7.9 ($t(76) = 1.77, p < .09$). In addition,

there was an overall difference on the prescreen competence scale. Men had a higher average score than did women (\underline{M} s= 7.5 and 7.0). However, for the social scale, the average response for men and women was 8.0. As was found in the interview responses, applicants on average rated themselves higher on social items than on competence items (social, \underline{M} = 8; competence, \underline{M} = 7.3) on the prescreen ($t(67.5) = 2, p < .05$).

In order to assess how applicants changed their self-presentation, the prescreen and the interview responses were analyzed as two within-subjects responses. A 2 (gender of applicant) x 2 (gender of interviewer) x 2 (topic; within subjects) x 2 (time: prescreen versus interview; within subjects) ANOVA was performed. Once again, there was a main effect of topic, $F(74,1)=43.21, p<.001$. As was found earlier, people rated themselves higher on the social (\underline{M} = 8.2) than the competence scales (\underline{M} = 7.3). There was also a marginally significant main effect for time, $F(74,1)= 3.47, p < .07$. Applicants rated themselves higher during the interview (\underline{M} = 7.83) than during the prescreen (\underline{M} = 7.65). This difference was much smaller, overall, than might be expected.

It would have been ideal to be able to run a MANCOVA using each prescreen item as a control for each interview item. However, this analysis only allows one covariate to be defined for all of the dependent variables combined. Instead, difference scores were computed for each item by subtracting the pre-screen response from the interview response. Two 2 (gender of applicant) x 2 (gender of interviewer) MANOVAs were run on the differences scores: one for the social and one for the competence items. For the social items, there was a significant effect for interviewer sex ($F(4,70)=3.43, p<.02$; see Table 5 for means). Both male and female applicants raised their estimates of their social

skills more with female interviewers than with male interviewers. No other effects were significant. For the competence items, there were no significant effects.

In order to compare the difference scores across the two topics, the difference scores for the four items in each topic were averaged together. These difference scales were analyzed in a 2 (gender of applicant) x 2 (gender of interviewer) x 2 (topic, social versus competence scale, within subjects) ANOVA. There was a significant interaction between gender of the interviewer and topic, $F(1,72)=3.85, p<.05$ (see Table 6). A t-test revealed that when applicants were with female interviewers, they changed their self-ratings to be more positive on the social items ($M = .44$) than they did on the competence items ($M = .08$), $t(40) = 1.95, p < .06$.

Self-Presentation: Open-Ended Responses

Coding and Scale Construction

Initially, the open-ended responses provided during the interview were going to be coded in the manner used by Miller et al. (1992). However, after examining the responses, these categories proved to be unworkable. In their study, participants were explaining a particular achievement. Therefore, their coding scheme identified the kinds of topics presented. Some of the responses they were looking for in the participants' explanations included: exaggerating success, making dispositional attributions for success, emphasis of effort, and sharing success with others. In the current investigation, applicants were making statements about how good they were at various general abilities. While most people gave examples to support their numerical rating, most included

elaboration about how good or bad they were at the trait. Therefore, a new system of categorization that looked at the types of positive and negative responses was developed.

Three coders, blind to the purpose of the study and the gender of the applicants, coded the responses. Once the responses were transcribed, any answers that identified the gender of the applicant or interviewer were made gender neutral. For example, “girlfriend” was changed to “partner” (with the quotation marks included so that the coders knew that this was not the language used by the applicant). A category was coded as present if two or three coders agreed that it is was present. Discrepancies were discussed initially to ensure that the coders were all using the same cues. However, due to the large number of possible codes (80 subjects times 10 questions times 12 categories) discussion was not possible for all discrepancies. Percent agreement across all categories ranged from 80% to 97%. The coding categories, examples of each, and the percent agreement among the coders are listed in Table 7.

Once the responses were coded, exploratory factor analyses were run to find possible underlying structure. The categories that assessed negative statements did not have enough occurrences to make any analyses meaningful. For the positive categories, none of the factors contained more than 2 categories. Therefore, the positive categories were analyzed separately. Initially, two scores were created for each category by summing across the four social and then the four competence items. However, there were not enough instances to make analyses meaningful in these groupings. In the end, each of the six positive categories was summed across all ten interview items.

Self-Presentation During the Interview

These scores were analyzed using 2 (gender of applicant) x 2 (gender of interviewer) ANOVAs. One ANOVA revealed a main effect for gender of applicant on the use of tentative positive statements, $F(1,77) = 5.85, p < .02$. Women were more likely to make these tentative responses during the interview than were men (women $M = 1.4$, men $M = .7$). There was also a main effect for interviewer gender on the applicants' use of making positive statements by saying they did not possess negative characteristics, $F(1,77) = 4.62, p < .04$. Applicants were more likely to use these types of statements with female ($M = .88$) than with male ($M = .45$) interviewers. There were no significant effects for any other category. Interestingly, male and female applicants did not differ in the number of generally positive statements that they made about themselves (see Table 8 for a list of all means).

Interviewers' Perceptions of Applicants

At the completion of the interview, interviewers rated applicants on four Likert-type items. These items had a high reliability ($\alpha = .92$) and were summed to create a positivity score. This score was regressed on the social and competence scales. Both of these scales were strongly related to interviewers' ratings, social- $b = .54, p < .008$, competence- $b = .36, p < .02$. The score was then regressed on the social and competence items separately, but adding gender of interviewer, gender of applicant and all interaction terms into the equations. None of these additional variables were significantly related to the score in either equation.

These four Likert-type items were analyzed in a 2 (gender of applicant) x 2 (gender of interviewer) MANOVA. This analysis revealed a marginally significant interaction of interviewer gender and applicant gender, $F(74,4) = 2.36, p < .06$, see Table 9 for means. Figure 1 shows the average scores across the four ratings². The significant interactions found above seem to be the result of the low ratings that female interviewers gave female applicants. There were no other significant effects.

Surprisingly, this effect did not seem to be driven by any differences in the numeric self-presentation by the applicants. The same items were analyzed in a 2 (applicant gender) x 2 (interviewer gender) MANCOVA controlling for their total responses during the interview. Again, the analysis revealed a marginally significant interaction between the gender of the interviewer and the gender of the applicant, $F(73,4) = 2.40, p < .06$. The effect was almost identical when using either the social or competence scales as the covariate. Therefore, it appears that the interviewers' reactions to the applicants were not completely driven by the presentations that they heard.

The second set of questions given to the interviewers contained a series of 10 semantic differentials. These items did not work well together as a scale. A factor analysis revealed no meaningful factors. Also, reliability was very low for various conceptual groupings (all α s $< .3$). Therefore, these items were not transformed into any scales.

This investigation was interested in perceptions of self-presentations and, for this, the "boastful/modest" item seemed particularly relevant. As would be expected,

² A 2 (gender of applicant) x 2 (gender of interviewer) ANOVA run on the average of the four general ratings (shown in Figure 1) showed no significant effects.

applicants who rated themselves more highly overall were rated by the interviewers as more boastful ($r = .34, p < .002$). Interviewers' ratings of boastfulness were not related to any boasting that applicants may have been doing relative to their private beliefs. There was no correlation between the difference between the applicants' prescreen and interview responses and the interviewers' ratings of boastfulness ($r = .11, p > .1$). The boasting item was regressed on the social and competence scales separately. Each equation also included the gender of interviewer, gender of applicant, and all interactions. The boasting item was only related to the competence scale, $b = .12, p < .005$. It appears that applicants were perceived as more boastful the higher they rated themselves on the competence items. Even though, as was mentioned above, the social items tended to have higher ratings, they appear to have contributed less to the perceptions of boastfulness. In general, being rated as boastful did not have any negative consequences for other ratings. This item did not correlate with other ratings made by the interviewers except for confidence. Interviewers who rated applicants as more boastful also rated them as more confident ($r = .28, p < .02$).

Comparison of Interviewer and Applicant Ratings

After the interview, the applicants were asked the same questions asked of the interviewers. However, the items were presented in two different ways. The applicants were asked to rate how well they would rate their own performance during the interview and how they thought the interviewer would rate them (only for the semantic differential items).

A 2 (gender of applicant) x 2 (gender of interviewer) MANOVA was run on the four Likert-type items asking applicants how they thought the interviewer rated them on the same items (these four items had an alpha reliability of .92). None of the effects were significant. However, each item had a significant univariate main effect for gender of applicant. In each case, male applicants thought that they would be rated higher by the interviewer than did the female applicants (see Table 10). This same trend was found in the means of the 8 semantic differentials. On two of the eight items, men thought they would be rated higher by the interviewer than women (see Table 11).

These differences do not seem to be driven by men's and women's differing perceptions in how they thought they actually did in the interview. When the semantic differential items were compared to how the applicants rated themselves, the means were almost identical for all items except for one. Men rated themselves as more confident than did women (means are 5.5 and 4.9 respectively, $t(78) = 2.61$, $p < .02$). It appears that, though men and women did not differ in their appraisal of their own presentation, women thought that they would be perceived less positively than did men.

How did the applicants' evaluations compare with those of the interviewer? As can be seen in Table 12, the interviewers rated the applicants more positively than the applicants rated themselves in almost every category. It appears that both genders underestimated how well they were perceived in the interview.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

This investigation was developed to further explore three possible predictions based on prior research. The current literature suggests that women who present themselves to men should be the most modest (this will be referred to as the literature explanation). Under these circumstances, women are hit with the double influence of an interaction with a stranger (which leads to reliance on norms) who is a man (which makes gender more salient). These women should be reminded of the norm for modesty. The women interacting with other women should not feel the salience of gender so strongly, and men do not have a norm for modesty. Two other possibilities were explored based on the findings from the pilot work. First, perhaps there is a social norm that leads people to think that men prefer, or at least allow, self-promotion and women do not (this will be referred to as the interviewer-gender explanation). Second, perhaps self-promotion itself is allowed by men and women, but the appropriate topics for self-promotion differ by gender (this will be referred to as the topic-gender explanation).

Results of the present study provide little direct support for the literature explanation. There was no support for the prediction that women were modest when interacting with male interviewers. However, there was some indication that women were somewhat more modest than men. Women appeared modest in their estimates of the interviewers' perceptions. They estimated that they would be perceived more negatively by the interviewers than did the male applicants. Also, women used more tentative

statements to justify their responses. These findings suggest a general tendency for women to be less self-promoting than men.

The current investigation did not provide support for the interviewer-gender explanation. While there were instances of people self-promoting more when interacting with a male interviewer, the effects were not straightforward. People did not simply raise their self-ratings for the benefit of the male perceiver. Both the gender of the interviewer and the topic influenced self-presentation.

Support was found for the topic-gender explanation. The two topics investigated here, social and competence skills, repeatedly showed different patterns of findings, which would not be predicted by either the literature or by the interviewer-gender explanations. Most important, applicants raised their self-assessments on the social items with female interviewers and on competence items with male interviewers. Therefore, as was suggested by the pilot study, both the topic and the gender of the interviewer seem to be important situational determinants for self-presentation.

In the end, however, gender of applicant, gender of interviewer, and topic had some impact. In particular, for competence items, men were more boastful than women with male interviewers, although they did not appear to differ with female interviewers. Male applicants with male interviewers have may be responding to a double “effect”. First, men were less modest in general. Second, male interviewers presumably allow greater self-promotion on competence items (at least for other men). The resulting combination made self-promotion likely in this condition.

This investigation did not provide robust findings nor clear answers. Instead of overwhelming support for any of the three explanations, there is evidence to support different pieces of each. In fact, the best explanation is probably an amalgamation of the explanations derived from past research and the pilot research. There was some evidence that women were self-promoting less in public, as has been demonstrated by other researchers. However, two factors that have received little attention to date also contribute to the picture: the gender of the interaction partner and the topic of presentation.

One of the most basic predictions received only minor support in this investigation. It was expected that in general, applicants would raise their self-assessments during a job interview. However this effect was only marginally significant. Two explanations are possible for this marginal difference. First, applicants started with fairly high private ratings. Perhaps by merely revealing their own high opinions of their abilities, applicants felt they were self-promoting enough to make a positive impression. Second, it is possible that the applicants were not overly concerned with their self-presentation (more discussion on this possibility will follow).

This investigation undertook to explore interviewers' reactions to self-promotion in a relatively natural environment (there were no scripts to read or confederates). On the four ratings of the Likert-type items, perceivers made positive assessments of their partners. One exception was the slightly more negative assessment made by women who had interacted with women. Even though both the social and competence scores contributed to the ratings made by the interviewers they were not the

primary determining factors of interviewers' evaluations. The gender differences in the interviewers' ratings remained even after controlling for the social and competence scores. These findings demonstrate that the interviewer ratings were only minimally determined by the applicants' numeric self-presentations. The factors influencing the interviewers' ratings will need to be examined further. Perhaps interviewers were influenced by the applicant's attractiveness or non-verbal behavior. Fortunately, both interviewers and applicants were videotaped and subsequent investigations of these tapes will explore these other channels of influence.

One strength of the current investigation was the inclusion of two measures of self-promotion: numeric and open-ended. For the open-ended responses, findings similar to those of Miller et al. (1992) were expected. However, the characteristics of the current data differed from their data in two important respects, making a direct comparison impossible. First, the explanations given by these applicants rarely contained any of the features (for either boasting or merely positive statements) identified by Miller and her colleagues. Second, their perceivers' ratings on the adjectives formed social and competence factors, each with a different pattern of findings. In this investigation, the same adjective ratings failed to form social and competence factors. As a result, instead of using their categories, these explanations were examined using categories developed specifically for this particular set of responses.

Interestingly, there were few gender differences in the manner in which applicants justified their numeric ability ratings. Female applicants were no different from male applicants in the number of strong positive and simply positive statements that they made

about their abilities. The one exception was female applicants' use of tentative positive statements more often than males. It is possible that women, while saying positive things about themselves, felt the need to buffer their presentation with less strong statements. In future analyses, it might be interesting to examine more specifically how men and women differ in their use of tentative categories (including qualified and negation negative statements). For instance, women may use these tentative statements along with the stronger positive statement in the same response. Men may be using these categories in response to abilities about which they feel less strong.

Although only a single item, the boastful/modest rating yielded some unexpected findings. First, the rating only had a significant relationship with the competence items. Applicants who rated themselves higher on the competence items were rated as more boastful, whereas applicants who rated themselves higher on social items were not. There was no relationship to the applicants' ratings on the social items. Apparently, it was not considered boastful for applicants to tell of their strong interpersonal skills. Second, there were no gender differences. LaFrance (1992) and Rudman (1995) found that self-promoting women were liked less than self-promoting men or modest women. Interestingly, regardless of gender, the interviewers' ratings of an applicant's boastfulness had little to do with their other ratings. The only relationship that was found for the boastful item was a positive relationship with the rating of the applicants' confidence, which is generally considered a positive trait to possess.

Two cautionary notes must be made in interpreting the lack of influence of the ratings of boastfulness. First, most applicants' self-ratings were not extreme. No

applicants rated themselves as a 10 on all questions. Only four applicants' responses averaged nine or higher. On the more modest end of responding, only 12 applicants' responses averaged 7 or lower. On the other hand, the average responses for all 10 items were higher than 6.0 (which is above average) and most items had averages above 7.5. Second, in general, applicants were not perceived as boastful. The average boastful rating was a 3.1 (with 4 being the neutral point between boastful and modest). Both of these factors make the investigation of the perception of boasting difficult. People were not particularly boastful, and they were not perceived that way.

The more relevant research finding for the boastful item presented above may be work by Schlenker and Leary (1982). These researchers found that people who predicted an above average performance for themselves were liked better than people who predicted they would perform below average. The applicants in the current study presented their abilities as above average, but not too much above average, and the interviewers rated the applicants as very likable. In addition, the work of Holtgraves and Srull (1989) demonstrates that even boastful statements are not perceived negatively when they are made in an appropriate context. Certainly an interview is an appropriate context for people to put their best foot forward. This situational factor, in combination with the fact that the foot the applicants presented was not perfect, likely led the interviewers to see the presentations as acceptable.

One of the purposes of this investigation was to tease apart the meaning and impact of boasting. Is it how highly people present themselves relative to their expectations or norms about other people or relative to their own internal standard? In

this investigation the two ways of examining boasting were through applicants' numeric responses during the interview and through their change in responses from private to public. Unfortunately, the differential impact of these on boasting could not be tested well. As was mentioned above, there was not much variability in responses during the interview. Also, there was not much variability in the change scores. However, the numeric responses on the competence items significantly related to the assessment of boastfulness. The change scores, on the other hand, were not significantly related to the assessment of boastfulness.

Finally, applicants were asked what they thought of their performance during the interview and how they thought the interviewer was going to rate them. Male and female applicants did not differ in how they rated their own performance during the interview. In addition, applicants were humble in their assessments compared to how highly they were actually rated by the interviewers. However, female applicants showed some modesty, or lack of confidence, in their estimates of how the interviewer would rate them. There was a trend for their ratings to be lower than the male applicants' ratings.

Although these items were not intended to measure modesty, they did seem to reflect some modesty on the part of the applicants in general, and the women in particular. It is as if they were perfectly willing to evaluate their own performance positively but did not presume to think that the interviewer would see it the same way. In retrospect, for people to say that someone else thinks they are great seems a boastful thing to say. Even though self-presentational concerns were probably not very high for these items, the responses were going to be seen by the experimenter. Perhaps these items reflect the

gender difference in public presentations that have been found so frequently in previous research (e.g., Gould & Slone, 1982).

Several aspects of the present research may account for the general lack of consistent results. As noted earlier, the interview questions did not elicit much variability in responding, numerically or verbally, for the majority of the responses settled around seven and eight without much variation in either direction. It is difficult to examine gender differences in modesty and boasting when there are few differences in responding at all. Although this method has been used before in this lab and others (e.g., Tice et al., 1995), in this particular laboratory setting the numeric responses did not vary as much as expected. Further, each item in the interview included a request for the applicants to justify their ratings. In general, the applicants' responses were brief, consisting mainly of a few short phrases. As a result, the open-ended responses did not provide a very rich data set. The most likely explanation for the brief responses was the interaction partner. The student interviewers did not, and maybe could not, elicit more detailed responses from the applicants with whom they were interacting.

Previous work has shown that five situational factors make self-presentational concerns more salient: (a) an awareness of being noticed, (b) an interaction with a stranger, (c) the impression being made is important, (d) there is little to lose, but much to gain by a positive impression, and (e) the other person in the interaction has power. In order for this investigation to be successful, the experimental situation needed to be one in which applicants' self-presentational concerns were activated. The first two factors were present in all of the interviews. During the interview, applicants were aware that they

were being noticed. The applicants were told that they were being judged by the interviewer, the interviewer was in the room, and there was a video camera pointed at them. Also, all of the applicants were interacting with strangers³.

However, the applicants had no reason to be concerned about the impression that they made on the interviewer other than the experimental instructions to make a positive impression (and any personal desire to be liked by everyone). While the applicants had little to lose by putting forth a strong presentation of themselves, they also had nothing to gain. Finally, the interviewer did not have any real power over the applicant. At the completion of the interview, applicants were asked whether they felt that the interviewer was in a position of power over them. Only 37% of the applicants said that they felt the interviewer had power over them. While some factors were present to make the situation ripe for self-presentation, the environment was far from the strongest possible.

Several additional factors could be added to the situation in the future to make it more likely that participants would feel pressured to present themselves in the best light possible. First, the perceived importance of the interaction could be increased. For example, the applicants could be led to believe that they will have to interact with the interviewer in the future. Second, the applicants could be made more dependent on the interviewers, which would give more power to the interviewer. For example, the ratings of the interviewer could determine whether or not the applicant would get some reward. Finally, it might be better in the future to use interviewers with more authority. For

³ Two applicants stated that they had seen the interviewer “around” before, but that they did not know the person at all.

example, employing graduate students or trained confederates as interviewers may lend more credibility to the entire interaction.

In conclusion, the results do not suggest that women are simply more modest than men in public. This investigation provides initial support for the importance of investigating gender of presenter and perceiver as well as examining the topics on which people present themselves. However, the exact dynamics of self-presentation in an interview setting are still far from clear. Further investigations are needed to explore not only what is going on, but also why.

Table 1. Prescreen items and factor loadings. Data from pre-screen applicants (n=850). Factors with eigenvalues greater than one. Items listed under each factor have a loading greater than .35.

Factor Loading	Items
	Factor 1 (Competence)
.75	How good are you at coming up with new ideas? (ideas)
.75	How successful do you think you will be in your chosen career? (success)
.70	How intelligent are you? (intelligent)
.67	How good are you at supervising others? (supervising)
.55	How good are you at speaking in front of large groups of people? (speaking)
.44	How good is your personality? (personality)
.42	How well do you interact with others? (interact)
.39	How helpful are you? (helpful)
	Factor 2 (Social)
.71	How good are you at reading the emotions of others? (emotions)
.68	How patient are you? (patient)
.66	How good is your personality? (personality)
.65	How helpful are you? (helpful)
.65	How well do you interact with other people? (interact)

Table 2. Interview items and factor loadings. Two factors specified. Items listed under each factor have a loading greater than .35.

Factor Loading	Items
	Competence
.78	How successful do you think you will be in your chosen career?
.77	How good are you at speaking in front of large groups of people?
.64	How intelligent are you?
.61	How good are you at coming up with new ideas?
	Social
.73	How good is your personality?
.73	How well do you interact with others?
.72	How good are you at reading the emotions of others?
.59	How helpful are you?
	Did not load on factors
-	How patient are you?
-	How good are you at supervising others?

Table 3. Means for social items by gender of interviewer and gender of applicant.

		Applicant Gender			
		Female		Male	
Interviewer Gender	Female	Emotion	8.0	8.1	
		Helpful	8.6	8.2	
		Personality	8.0	8.0	
		Interact	8.1	8.2	8.4 8.2
	Male	Emotion	8.2	7.7	
		Helpful	8.7	8.7	
		Personality	7.8	8.5	
		Interact	8.5	8.3	8.4 8.3

Table 4. Means for the competence items by gender of interviewer and gender of applicant.

		Applicant Gender			
		Female		Male	
Interviewer Gender	Female	New Ideas	7.3	7.2	
		Intelligence	7.3	7.8	
		Speaking	5.5	6.0	
		Success	8.3	8.4	7.4
	Male	New Ideas	6.7	7.8	
		Intelligence	7.8	8.0	
		Speaking	6.4	6.0	
		Success	8.3	8.9	7.7

Table 5. Means for social items difference scores by interviewer gender. Difference scores are between the interview and prescreen responses. Higher numbers correspond to higher responses during the interview.

Gender of Interviewer	Social Items Difference Scores			
	Personality	Emotion	Helpful	Interact
Female	.48	.30	.51	.48
Male	-.17	-.32	.47	.47

Table 6. Means for social and competence difference scales by gender of interviewer. Average change in responses between the prescreen and the interview. Higher numbers correspond to higher responses during the interview.

Topic	Gender of Interviewer	
	Male	Female
Social Difference Scale	.10	.44
Competence Difference Scale	.25	.08

Table 7. Coding categories for the responses to open-ended interview questions.

Category Label	Examples	% Agree
strong positive statement	"[I am a] very helpful great 'person'"	93
positive statement	"[I have] a good attraction to people"	82
positive/successful past experiences	"I have really had no problems with anyone at all working, school or socially"	80
qualified positive statement	"I am pretty good at that" "I usually find that people like me"	88
tentative positive statement	"I think I can read the emotions of others..."	95
positive statement made in terms of not being negative	"I do not get as nervous or sweaty"	95
strong negative statement	"[Emotions are tough to read] especially if you're with a crowd that you do not know, it's very tough to read."	98
negative statement	"That is one of the harder things for me."	93
negative/unsuccessful past experiences	"I have had a job before, it is very hard to be hard on other people."	83
qualified negative statement	"I tend to be kind of quiet at first"	94
tentative negative statement	"maybe a couple of 'people' want to beat me up"	97
a negative statement made in terms of not being positive	"On a group level, I'm not as good"	94

Table 8. Mean number of occurrences for positive, open-ended categories across all ten interview items by applicant gender. * = difference between male and female means is significant at $p < .05$

Category Applicant	Strong Positive	Positive	Positive Experiences	Qualified Positive	Positive Tentative*	Positive (not negative)
Female	1.4	2.3	3.6	.51	1.4	1.4
Male	1.5	2.0	4.4	.85	.73	1.7

Table 9. Interviewer ratings of the applicants by interviewer and applicant gender.

Ratings	Gender of applicant			
	male		female	
	Gender of interviewer			
	male	female	male	female
Effectiveness	8.0	8.4	8.1	7.4
Liking	8.2	8.1	8.0	8.1
Recommend	7.7	8.2	7.8	7.4
Like to work with	8.4	7.8	8.1	8.0

Table 10. Applicants' perceptions of interviewer ratings by applicant gender. Higher numbers indicate more positive evaluations. Degrees of freedom for all univariate tests was (1,76). *= means were significantly different at $p < .05$.

Item	Males	Female	F
Effectiveness	7.3	6.6	4.7*
Liking	7.3	6.8	3.7*
Recommend	7.4	6.7	6.2*
Like to work with	7.5	6.7	6.7*

Table 11. Applicants' perceptions of interviewer ratings by applicant gender. Higher numbers indicate that the evaluation was more like the adjective. *= means significantly different at p less than .05.

Item	Male	Female	t-value
Attractive	3.8	3.7	.41
Confident	5.3	4.7	2.25*
Honest	6.0	5.8	.62
Intimate	3.0	3.8	3.06*
Intelligent	5.5	5.0	1.97*
Boastful	3.7	3.7	.05
Sensitive	4.8	4.8	1.15
Successful	5.3	4.8	1.67

Table 12. Comparisons of applicants and interviewer ratings. The first 8 items were on a 7-piont scale, the last 4 items were on a ten point scale. Higher numbers indicate that the evaluation was more like the adjective. a= the comparison between the applicants self-rating and the interview rating differed p<.05. b= the comparison between the applicants rating of how they think they were rated and the interviewer rating differed p<.05.

Item	Applicants self-ratings	Applicants think Interviewer rated them	Interviewer ratings
Attractive	3.7	3.4	5.0 ^{ab}
Confident	5.0	5.2	5.6 ^{ab}
Honest	5.9	6.4	6.1
Intimate	3.4	3.2	5.0 ^{ab}
Intelligent	5.3	5.4	6.1 ^{ab}
Boastful	3.7	3.8	3.1 ^{ab}
Sensitive	4.5	4.3	4.6
Successful	5.1	5.1	5.2
Recommend		6.9	7.7 ^b
Work		7.1	8.1 ^b
Like		7.0	8.1 ^b
Effective		6.9	7.9 ^b

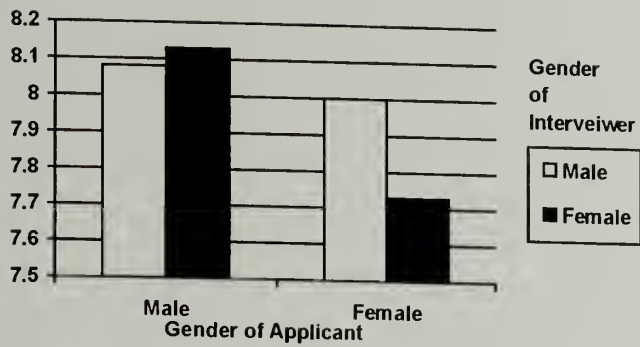


Figure 1. Averages of the general ratings made by the interviewers by applicant and interviewer gender.

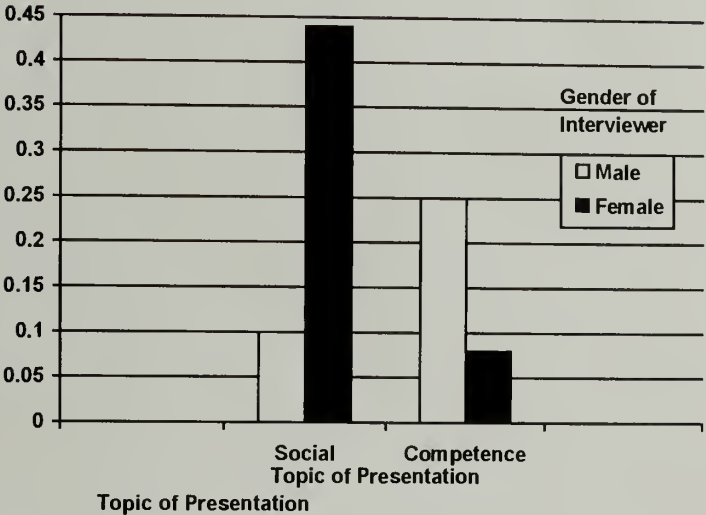


Figure 2. Social and competence difference scales by gender of interviewer.

APPENDIX A

PRE-SCREEN INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

For this survey, we are looking at how capable people think they are in various areas. We are hoping to get a better sense of how university students perceive themselves. When filling this out, try to choose a number that best represents what you think about yourself. If you choose a '1', it means that you feel you are not at all good on that trait. If you choose a '10' it means that you think you are extremely good on that trait. You can also pick any number in between 1 and 10.

1) How successful do you think you will be in your chosen career?

not at all successful

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

extremely successful

9

10

2) How good are you at coming up with new ideas and solutions to problems?

3) How intelligent are you?

4) How helpful are you?

5) How good is your personality?

6) How good is your ability to supervise others?

7) How good are you at speaking in front of large groups of people?

8) How patient are you?

9) How good are you at reading the emotions of others?

10) How well do you interact with others?

11) How good are your work habits?

12) How good are you at influencing others?

APPENDIX B

PRE-INTERVIEW MATERIALS- INTERVIEWER

Please read all of these materials carefully and completely.

-During this interview, you are an interviewer for the admissions office here at U Mass.

-Remember: You are in a position of power in this interview. You will be asking the question and you will be making the evaluations.

-Below you will find the job description. Assume the subject has all of the basic skills necessary for the job.

-Your job is to form a complete evaluation of this applicant so that you can report a complete evaluation at the end of the interview. You will be asked about how good a candidate you think this person is for the job.

-We will be using your evaluations of the applicant later.

- At the end of the interview, we will be asking you about your experiences as an interviewer.

-In order to help you make your evaluations, you must keep notes during the interview. After the applicant has answered a question, jot down the main ideas that they presented. This will serve to help you to remember details about the interview to help you make evaluations of the applicant. Make sure to pay attention to the judgments that you make during the interview so that you may report them at the end of the interview.

-We will give you a form to follow during the interview. Please do not change the script at all. Please ask the questions in the order that they are presented and use the wording exactly as it is presented. It is all right for you to respond to comments made by the applicant during the interview. However, please stay with the question given to you. Make sure to ask every question that is on the interview sheet.

Job Description

Wanted summer '97: success-oriented U Mass student to work on 10-week internship through the admissions office; collect information for student life brochure; must have knowledge of student life at U Mass

Please complete the following information about yourself

1) Year: 1 2 3 4 more than 4

2) Age: _____

3) Sex: Female Male

4) Have you ever been on a job interview before? Yes No

5) If you answered "no" to #4, have you ever had any kind of interview before? Y/N

6) Have you ever conducted an interview before? Yes No

What is your role in the interview? Interviewer Applicant

What job is the applicant interviewing for?

What are you trying to do during the interview?

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW INSTRUCTIONS AND QUESTIONS

- 1) On the following 3 pages are the questions that you will be asking the applicant. While the experimenter is getting the applicant ready, please take the time to become familiar with all of the questions so that you are comfortable with them.
- 2) You will be taking notes on the applicant's responses during the interview. You do not have to write down the information word for word. You just need to jot down the main ideas and points that the applicant is making. Please circle the number on the number scale questions.
- 3) You will notice that some of the questions follow the same format. Many applicants figure out the format after a few questions and start to answer the questions as soon as they know the topic. That is all right as long as the applicant gives you both parts of the question: (1) the number rating and (2) the explanation.
- 4) Remember that you are in control of this situation. Feel free to be very friendly, but do not let the conversation drift too far off track. Try to be very professional. Please treat the situation as seriously as possible. Keep in mind the qualities you think would be good for the job and for a co-worker. Try to think about the answers that the applicant give you and see if you think they are good answers.
- 5) Remember that the applicant has not heard the questions before. Try to read slowly and clearly.
- 6) Below is a copy of the job description again for your reference.

Interview Instructions and Questions, continued

“I have been hired to find someone to fill this admissions summer internship. Ready to start? How does your college education or work experience relate to this job?”

“What do you consider to be your greatest strength?”

“How do you think your experiences at U Mass have prepared you for the admissions’ job”

“I am going to list a group of traits. I want you to rate how good you are at each on a scale from 1 to 10- a one being not at all good and a ten being extremely good. Then I will ask you to say a few sentences about each.”

(1) “What do you think are your chances for fulfillment and success in your chosen career? One being not at all good and ten being extremely good”

not at all good										extremely good
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

“Can you say a few sentences to explain why you have chosen that rating?”

(2) “How well do you interact with others?”

(3) “How good are you at coming up with new ideas and solutions to problems?”

(4) “How helpful are you?”

(5) “How intelligent are you?”

(6) “How good is your personality?”

(7) “How good is your ability to supervise others?”

(8) “How good are you at speaking in front of large groups of people?”

(9) “How patient are you?”

(10) “How good are you at reading the emotions of others?”

“Where would you like to be in 10 years?”

APPENDIX D

PRE-INTERVIEW MATERIALS- APPLICANT

Please read all of these materials carefully and completely.

As you know, we are looking at the interview interaction. In this study you will be applying for a summer internship. Below you will find the job description. You will be interviewed for this job by a peer interviewer. Your job is to do everything you can to get the interviewer to form a positive impression of you and to make a strong recommendation for you at the end of the interview. At the end of the interview, the interviewer will be rating you on various traits and will be recommending or not recommending you for hire.

This experiment is an opportunity for you to practice your interviewing skills. The interviewer will start with the assumption that you have at least the minimum qualifications necessary for the job.

Job Description

Wanted summer '97: success-oriented U Mass student to work on 10-week internship through the admissions office; collect information for student life brochure; must have knowledge of student life at U Mass

Please complete the following information about yourself

1) Year: 1 2 3 4 more than 4

2) Age: _____

3) Sex: Female Male

4) Have you ever been on a job interview before? Yes No

5) If you answered "no" to #4, have you ever had any kind of interview before? Y/N

6) Have you ever interviewed a person before? Yes No

What is your role? applicant interviewer

What is the job you are applying for?

What are you trying to do during the interview?

APPENDIX E

POST-INTERVIEW MATERIALS- INTERVIEWER

Please rate the applicant on the following:

How much do you like this applicant?

Not at all

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

9

0

extremely

10

How highly would you recommend this applicant for hire?

How effective do you think this person will be at the job?

How much would you like to work with the person?

insecure

1

2

3

4

5

6

confident

7

insensitive

dishonest

unsuccessful

superficial

unmasculine

unfeminine

not at all intelligent

modest

attractive

sensitive

honest

successful

intimate

masculine

feminine

intelligent

boastful

unattractive

APPENDIX G

DEBRIEFING QUESTIONS

Interviewers' Experiences

Please tell us your experiences being an interviewer.

- 1) How comfortable were you being an interviewer?

Not at all

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

9

0

extremely
10

- 2) How nervous were you being an interviewer?

Not at all

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

9

0

extremely
10

- 3) Would you like to be an interviewer again?

don't know

never

maybe definitely

- 4) Do you think you have a better idea how to present yourself in a job interview?

- 5) Did you feel like you were in a position of power over the applicant? yes no

- 6) Would you like more training in being interviewed? yes no

- 7) Would you like more training in being an interviewer? yes no

- 8) How much did you know the interviewer? (circle one)

a) never met b) recognize c) recognize name & face d) acquaintance

e) friend f) other (please explain)

- 9) Did you feel prepared to be an interviewer?

- 10) What do you think we will learn from this study?

- 11) What do you think the major research questions were?

- 12) Do you think there is more to this study than there appears at the surface?

yes no

- 13) Do you have some ideas about what other questions we might be investigating?

- 14) Had you heard anything about this study from someone who was not working on the project? yes no

If yes, what were you told?

Debriefing Questions, continued

Applicant's Experiences

Please tell us your experiences being an applicant.

1) How comfortable were you being an applicant?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 extremely
10

2) How nervous were you being an applicant?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 extremely
10

3) Would you like to be an applicant again?

don't know never maybe definitely

4) Do you think you have a better idea how to present yourself in a job interview?

5) How interested were you in the job with the admission office?

Not at all 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 extremely
10

6) Did you feel like the interviewer was in a position of power over you? yes no

7) Would you like more training in being interviewed? yes no

8) Would you like more training in being an interviewer? yes no

9) How much did you know the interviewer? (circle one)

a) never met b) recognize c) recognize name & face d) acquaintance
e) friend f) other (please explain)

10) What do you think we will learn from this study?

11) What do you think the major research questions were?

12) Do you think there is more to this study than there appears at the surface?
yes no

13) Do you have some ideas about what other questions we might be investigating?

14) Had you heard anything about this study from someone who was not working on the project? yes no

If yes, what were you told?

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